

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

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TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 043325

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, PORG, UNSC, ET, SO, PBOR, OAU

SUBJECT: PLAN OF ACTION FOR HORN OF AFRICA

REFS: A) TEHRAN 1709; B) TEHRAN 1708; C) STATE 42000;
D) STATE 37063

1. CONCERNING POINTS RAISED IN REF A CONCERNING DIS-
CREPANCY BETWEEN "ELEMENTS OF DRAFT SC RESOLUTION" AND
EARLIER ELEMENTS OF PLAN FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT (REF D),
REF C IS GOVERNING IN ANY DISCUSSION OF SECURITY COUNCIL
ASPECTS OF HORN SITUATION. THE ELEMENTS OF A DRAFT RESO-
LUTION IN REF C WERE GENERALLY AGREED AMONG WESTERN FIVE
IN NEW YORK AND REPRESENT OUR VIEW OF WHAT MIGHT BE
ATTAINABLE IN SC. IT IS ONLY THE ROUGH OUTLINE OF WHAT A
RESOLUTION MIGHT LOOK LIKE AND WE WOULD EXPECT--AND HOPE--
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THAT IT WOULD BE STRENGTHENED IN NEGOTIATIONS AFTER IT HAS
BEEN AGREED TO SEIZE THE COUNCIL OF THE HORN ISSUE.
IRANIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THIS PROCESS WOULD BE WELCOME.

2. IN ANY EVENT, SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WOULD BE
DESIGNED TO GET NEGOTIATIONS ON A SETTLEMENT GOING, PRE-
FERABLY UNDER OAU AUSPICES. ETHIOPIA WOULD NOT BE LIKELY

TO ACCEPT GUIDELINES FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH IMPLICITLY
LIMITED ITS SOVEREIGNTY IN THE OGADEN, BUT IN THE PROCESS

OF ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS IMPLEMENTING GENERAL GUIDELINES WE
WOULD HOPE IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON
NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY WHICH WOULD HAVE THE
EFFECT OF ENSURING AGAINST REPRISALS. FORMAL MANDATE OF
SUCH AN ENTITY MAY, HOWEVER, HAVE TO BE LIMITED TO
"MONITORING AND REPORTING" ON EVENTS.

3. PRESUME THAT IRANIANS WOULD AGREE THAT THE BEST HOPE
WE HAVE OF DETERRING REPRISALS IS TO GET NEGOTIATIONS
STARTED PROMPTLY AND THAT PROSPECTS OF ACHIEVING THIS
WOULD BE WORSENER BY SURFACING "GUIDELINES" WHICH WOULD
BE UNACCEPTABLE TO ONE OF THE PARTIES. THE APPEARANCE
OF EVEN-HANDEDNESS WOULD BE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN THE
UN CONTEXT.

4. WITH REGARD TO REF B, WHILE THE ETHIOPIAN AIR STRIKES
AGAINST NORTHERN SOMALI CITIES OBVIOUSLY ARE REGRETTABLE
VIOLATIONS OF SOMALIA'S AIRSPACE, WE DO NOT CONSIDER THAT
THE PRESENT SCALE OF THESE INTERMITTENT ATTACKS CONSTI-
TUTES AGGRESSION AGAINST SOMALIA. THEY CAN IN FACT BE
SEEN AS JUSTIFIABLE RETALIATION AGAINST SOMALI AGGRESSION
SUPPORTED FROM THOSE CITIES. THEY DO NOT, IN OUR VIEW,
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REPRESENT A BREACH OF SOVIET ASSURANCES THAT SOMALIA
WOULD NOT BE INVADED ALTHOUGH WE AGREE THAT THEY ARE NOT
CONSISTENT WITH THOSE ASSURANCES AND HAVE SO INFORMED THE
SOVIETS.

5. OUR PLAN WOULD STILL BE PURSUED EVEN IF AN INTERNAL
COUP IN SOMALIA SHOULD REPLACE SIAD BARRE REGIME WITH A
PRO-SOVIET GROUP. OUR GOAL IS TO REACH A MEANINGFUL,
ENDURING SETTLEMENT TO ETHIOPIA/SOMALI CONFLICT NO MATTER
WHAT COLORATION OF REGIMES ARE. WE DO NOT, BY THE WAY,
FORESEE AT THIS TIME THE COLLAPSE OF SIAD BARRE. NOR DO
WE BELIEVE A POST-BARRE REGIME, IF IT EMERGED, WOULD
NECESSARILY BE PRO-SOVIET. INDEED, TO BE PRO-SOVIET IN
SOMALIA AT THIS JUNCTURE IS TO BE ANTI-SOMALI. VANCE

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